

Don't Look Now, J. Edgar, But We Think We've Spotted Another Subversive

"In 1959 Vice President Nixon suggested to Soviet officials that the interest of peace and the interests of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be well served if consulates were established in New York and Leningrad."

—Morton (R. Ky.) speech in support of the pending U.S.-Soviet Consular treaty in the Senate, Jan. 31.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XV, NO. 6

FEBRUARY 13, 1967



WASHINGTON, D. C.

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More Than Steel and Chrome Can Bear

At this tense moment, when there is hope everywhere that peace may emerge from the Vietnamese New Year cease-fire, the rest of the world may spare a little time to consider what it is asking of us Americans. If men live by symbols, then all we live by is threatened. This can be seen if we strip away non-essentials and get down to the sensitive and painful layers of the mind, where the decisions are really made. To start with, the President wants peace, and he's more hopeful than he has been in months of getting it, even if it is only because of the growing Sino-Soviet split. He is looking for a signal from Hanoi, but it must be the signal that Hanoi is ready to toss in the towel. The signals we have been getting are signals of a readiness to negotiate a peaceful settlement. But for us that would be a defeat, and that's how Johnson sees it. To call off the bombings, to sit down with the rebels, to accept some kind of coalition regime, open or disguised, would be to admit that we had lost the war. And that, the world should recognize, is very hard indeed.

The Prestige of The Machine

Everything America stands for is at stake. And not just America, but everything the modern world admires. And not just the capitalist world, but all that Lenin and his comrades aspired to ever since the days when *Fordismus* was the magic word of Bolshevism, its gleaming goal, a future of mass production, brought at last to the muddy villages of Mother Russia. It is the Machine, it is the prestige of the machine, that is at stake in Vietnam. It is Boeing and General Electric and Goodyear and General Dynamics. It is the electronic range-finder and the amphibious truck and the night-piercing radar. It is the defoliant, and the herbicide, and the deodorant, and the depilatory. It is the products and the brand names we have been conditioned since childhood to revere. It is the ideal of our young men. This—do not be deceived by the cowboy tall in the saddle smoking Marlboroughs on TV, as distant a figure from our lives as Tarzan of the Apes—this ideal is to be an Ivy League-suited executive in one of those chrome and glass skyscrapers which are our Cathedrals. It is to be a human particle as shiny and antiseptic and replaceable as any machine part, in the world of business. This is more than a drive for money. It is the veneration of efficiency. It is faith in technology, in mechanical solutions for every problem, in the Gadget as God. This is the faith those uncouth

From the Clergy Who Marched on Washington

"A time comes when silence is betrayal. . . . We add our voice to those who protest a war in which civilian casualties are greater than military; in which whole populations are deported against their will; in which the widespread use of napalm is killing and maiming women, children and the aged; in which the combatants are systematically destroying the crops and productive capacity of a country they profess to liberate. . . . Our anguish is deepened by the discrepancy between what we are told by our government and what we discover is actually taking place. We are told that the other side gives no indication of desire to negotiate and we then discover that such negotiations have been given but that we have responded either with rebuff or military escalation."

—From the manifesto by the Clergymen's March on Washington (text, Con. Rec. A405-7 2/1/67) asking an end to bombing of the North and talks with the NLF.

guerrillas in Vietnam have placed in jeopardy.

When Gen. LeMay said we could win the war by bombing them back to the Stone Age, he was speaking up from the depths of our deepest horror. What fate could be worse than to put people back in the Stone Age—without refrigerators, Supermarkets, even toilets? Now we're frantic because for our purposes these Vietnamese peasants were in the Stone Age already, and had never heard of the comforts we were going to blast away from them. Down there in the jungles, unregenerate, ingenious, tricky, as tiny as a louse or a termite, and as hard to get at, emerged a strange creature whose potency we had almost forgotten—Man. To sit down now and deal with him is to admit that the Machine lost to Man, that our beautifully computerized war, with the most complicated devices for killing ever assembled and the most overwhelming firepower ever mustered, had failed. To ask us to give up our faith in General Motors is like asking a Joan of Arc to give up her faith in God; we, too, may prefer the fire, for this really shakes the foundations of our security. These are the invisible blows that rain down on Detroit while everybody worries about Hanoi. We ask the world: Dry your tears about those uprooted peasants—if you look closely you will see that *they* are still there. And think of our poor frustrated bulldozers.

Nicaragua As A Successful Example of "Pacification" by U.S Marines

The Big Money Establishment Takes Its Quiet Revenge on Patman

THREE MEMBERS of the House are being disciplined. The least justifiable case is getting the least attention. Adam Clayton Powell is in trouble for using his office to further his career as an international playboy; this has Negroes aroused, since they feel with justice, that more serious peccadilloes by other (white) members pass unreprieved. John Bell Williams of Mississippi has lost his seniority; his crime was deserting his party for Barry Goldwater in 1964—this has other Southerners aroused since Williams only did openly what most of them did privately. The third case is that of Wright Patman, the one member from Texas who (unlike that multi-millionaire from the Pedernales) is really a Populist. Patman's powers as chairman of House Banking and Currency are being cut down by a bipartisan cabal. His crime is that he has been exposing the manipulations of the Big Money crowd, most recently in their tax-exempt foundations, and was about to investigate interlocking controls in Big Banking. A generation ago this would have created an uproar; today it passes unnoticed. That model of anemic liberalism, the Democratic Study Group, so active in the Powell and Williams' cases, is silent in Patman's.

It Began With A Chamorro

NOWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA does our world-wide crusade for freedom look more sour than in Nicaragua. Forty years ago Coolidge's Secretary of State Kellogg pulled a Red scare and called out the Marines to prevent the Liberals from ousting the Conservative General Chamorro, long a faithful tool of the U.S. and the United Fruit Company. A Liberal mining engineer, Sandino, led a revolt against U.S. intervention which ended only in 1932 with the establishment of a U.S. trained National Guard to take over the country's "pacification." Just as in the Dominican Republic, the Guard leader we trained, Somoza, soon overthrew the government and established a family dictatorship which built a \$150 million fortune in this poverty-stricken little country. The Somozas have just won another of their rigged elections, this time over another Chamorro, leader of the Conservative opposition. Though 60 people have been killed, a leading editor jailed and the unsuccessful candidate (with 20 of his supporters) arrested on charges that could bring the death penalty, the U.S. looks on with indifference, amusement or complacency. Who cares about freedom so long as a Central American regime plays ball with U.S. interests?

How the Senate Faced Up To the Baker Case

Sen. CLARK (D. Pa.): Mr. President, the Bobby Baker case broke on Oct. 10, 1963—3 years and 4 months ago. A voluminous investigation of the case was made by the Committee on Rules and Administration. . . . The Senate has had 3 years and 4 months time to put its house in order, and to correct . . . procedures dealing with ethical standards of employees. . . . In not wishing to face up to this matter, the entire matter was referred to a new committee on ethics . . . chaired by the junior Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Stennis). During the course of this debate, the Senator from Mississippi stated that his committee had not yet given any serious consideration to [the Baker case] . . . and he did not know when that would be. . . . The Senate has an opportunity this afternoon to face up to its responsibilities. —*In the Senate, Feb. 2, Con. Rec. p. S1408.*

The Senate thereupon faced up to its responsibilities by voting 49-28 to shelve Clark's "Bobby Baker" bill which would have forbade employees of the Senate to engage in outside business without permission.

REUTHER'S RESIGNATION would stir more enthusiasm in those who'd like a less reactionary labor movement if it weren't for the suspicion (1) that it was largely motivated by disappointed personal ambition to succeed Meany and (2) that if he hadn't resigned Reuther would have had to stage a fight at the coming AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting Feb. 20 or stand accused of again chickening out into silence after publicly calling so often for "democratic discussion" inside the labor movement. Reuther wants to support Johnson on foreign policy and the Vietnam war; Meany regards Johnson, as Meany regarded Eisenhower, as too soft on Communism. In foreign policy Meany is close to Goldwater, but Reuther lacks to nerve to come out and say so.

TIP TO DER SPIEGEL: A 1st Infantry Division photograph released Jan. 10 in Saigon (Ref. No. P1975-1-67) shows two U.S. soldiers with this caption under it, "Keeping A Sharp Eye Out. Patrolling the Saigon River, PFC Ronnie Daniels and Sgt. Michael Yazwinsky of Giessen, West Germany, keep alert as they watch for any VC attempting to escape the Iron Triangle area during Operation CEDAR FALLS. The men are with Co E, 1st Engr Bn, 1st Inf Div." This is the first proof we have seen of Germans serving in Vietnam. Could *Der Spiegel* find out if this is only an odd German enlistment, or by arrangement with West German authorities?

The Satirical Arithmetic of Our "Success" in Bombing North Vietnam

"Instructed by the Secretary of Defense, let us apply to our supposed 'defense' in the skies over North Vietnam the cost-benefit analysis that figures so largely in the present style of the Department of Defense. The primary hard aim of the bombing program is to stop the infiltration of men and supplies from the north to the south. The results are these: When the bombing began there were some 400 North Vietnamese soldiers fighting in South Vietnam. Today there are said to be 90,000. If this kind of infiltration-stopping continues we shall soon have the entire northern military-age population in the south. . . .

"One final cost of the bombing is the most subtle and

quite possibly the most hurtful of all. The bombing deprives us of the opportunity to negotiate with the National Liberation Front, the organization that is actually doing most of the fighting. The bombing supports the myth that there is no such thing, that the Vietcong is just the puppet of the North. Until we open our eyes to the reality of our enemy, we cannot make peace with him. The bombing of Hanoi reinforces our delusion that it is Hanoi we fight. We are indeed confronted with the active opposition of Hanoi but, as the figures show, much of that has been generated since our own attacks on the north began."

—Reuss (D. Wis.) in the House Feb. 1.

The Folly of Tax-Sharing and the Maddest Idea Yet in Counter-Insurgency**Hardly the Most Tactful Time for A New "Peaceful Uses" Nuclear Test**

ONE OF THE OSTACLES in getting West German, Indian and Swedish acquiescence in non-proliferation is their fear that this may mean giving up not only nuclear weapons but nuclear technology for peaceful uses. Willy Brandt is already talking of a "technological gap." These fears will figure in the Geneva Disarmament talks which reopen Feb. 21 in an atmosphere of considerable "middle power" resentment. Two events will add to it. The first is the scheduling for early this month in Nevada of a "peaceful uses" test which is expected to crater and inject radioactive Iodine, Caesium-131 and Strontium 90 into the atmosphere in possible violation of the nuclear test ban treaty. The other irritant is a State Department note to Mexico City objecting to the inclusion in the pending Latin American "nuclear-free zone" treaty of a provision allowing for peaceful uses. The Department in a note released Feb. 6 says the treaty would be rendered ineffective "if it permitted the development of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful uses since such devices are, for all practical purposes, indistinguishable from weapons." This is a reminder that a "peaceful uses" test will provide results which are also valuable in developing weapons. No matter how you look at it, this new test seems neither tactful nor timely.

A Raid on The Treasury

PLANS FOR TAX-SHARING between the States and the Federal government ought to be attacked by all organizations seeking to aid the poor. We were glad to see that Collins of Boston led a group of Mayors in testifying against the idea before a Senate subcommittee under Muskie of Maine. At a time of rising demands for revenue and social vision, it would be disastrous to turn back more Federal funds to the State capitols. Most of the State governments are in the hands of the reactionary rural well-to-do, and they are more apt to use Federal funds to lighten their own taxes than to spend it in welfare. The idea was dubious enough when it originated in the Kennedy Administration with Walter Heller, as a means of disbursing "surplus" Federal revenues. But that, as Moss (*D. Utah*) pointed out to the Senate in a thoughtful speech

For the 4th Time—Just Outside Saigon

"Saigon (UPI)—A massive American ammunition dump hit three times recently by Viet Cong suicide squads rocked with explosions and raged with flames today. . . . Waves of flames still licked near the stacked tons of untouched explosives nine hours after the first blast lit up the sky 11 miles north of Saigon. Spokesmen said two U.S. servicemen suffered injuries, apparently while fighting the flames. . . . Past explosions at the Long Binh dump came Oct. 28, Nov. 18 and Dec. 10 in Viet Cong satchel charge and mortar attacks. Although near Saigon, the dump area is in 'Viet Cong territory' where the guerrillas prowl at night."

—Washington Evening Star, February 4.

Feb. 1, was "before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, before Medicare, before we really faced up to the herculean tasks of curbing air and water pollution and before we were so deeply involved in the Southeast Asian war." In present circumstances tax-sharing is no better than a raid on the Treasury and a further weakening of Federal leadership and planning in dealing with problems—like air and water pollution—that transcend State boundaries.

THE WACKIEST IDEA YET for winning the war in Vietnam was brought to light by Bryce Nelson in *Science* (Jan. 20). It is to orbit a space mirror which could light up much of South Vietnam at night and thus hamper nocturnal guerrilla activities! The article was illustrated with a NASA mirror-in-orbit diagram showing how an area from Washington to New York City could be brightly lit at night. Five companies, including Boeing, Westinghouse and Goodyear, have \$490,000 in contracts for preliminary work. Expressions of alarm have come from astronomers. "Other scientists," Nelson reports, "have suggested that the rhythms of plant and animal life would be disturbed." One reads of prisoners tortured by being forced to sleep in brightly lit cells. Imagine keeping a whole nation, or a major part of it, brightly lit all night for the convenience of our counter-insurgency!

Two Cries of Anguish from Vietnamese "On Our Side" About the Iron Triangle

"I speak as a representatives of the Vietnamese Overseas Buddhist Association. I believe the military operation in the Iron Triangle has created a devastation which is not only physical—beyond what American money and know-how could repair—but devastation on the psychological and social level. You know in this country when we say moving a man from his home, we just mean to take a suitcase, a pack of cigarettes, hop into a car and go. Then we have another home. But in Vietnam when you take a man out of his home, especially a peasant, you take him out of his past, his present, and very surely his future. A man in Vietnam is born a part of the land. Remember the strategic hamlet which was less disastrous but brought down President Diem's regime. Suppose you are a Vietnamese peasant seeing all these huge bulldozers and planes devastating—would you see these people as benefactors?"

—Tran Van Dinh, former Chargé d'Affaires of Saigon's Embassy, at a press conference here in Washington, under the auspices of SANE, Feb. 2, few papers covered.

"You read how the operation of the Iron Triangle was done. We evacuate 6,000 people. Yet I read today in the newspapers that the Viet Cong are still there, and one American platoon has suffered heavy casualties. And in the coming days you may learn that the Viet Cong are still there. When you move 6,000 people out, they have no house, no medical care. They are not rich like you. They have a very small house. But they must spend their lives to build this house, and that house may be lived in by their grandparents and their parents. They are glad to have this house and normally they are not dependent on U.S. aid. They are dependent on the fish pond, the rice field, the trees. So they live with their land, for many thousands of years. But now when we move them, we ruin them. We burn everything. Now they become angry and more favorable with the Communists. And more, excuse me to say, I am very friendly with you, they become more anti-American."

—Col. Nguyen Khuong, formerly Saigon's military attache here, same presse conference.

Electronic "Big Brotherism" Stirs A Wide-Ranging Protest in the Senate

But Why Should FBI and CIA Be Exempt From An Inquiry Into "Bugging"?

Senator Morce called for an investigation of the Justice Department in a Senate speech Feb. 2 in which he dwelt on the expanded use by the government of all kinds of snooping devices. He called attention to the findings being made by the Senate Judiciary subcommittee under Long of Missouri which has been investigating electronic eavesdropping in law enforcement. His speech provoked comment and approval from Senators as diverse as Talmadge of Georgia, Fong of Hawaii, Cotton of New Hampshire, Proxmire of Wisconsin, Cooper of Kentucky, McCarthy of Minnesota, Hart of Michigan, Young of Ohio and Gruening and Bartlett of Alaska.

Using Fake Telephone Company Trucks

Electronic discoveries have made Big Brotherism an unseen plague. Long of Missouri said listening devices had been reduced to the size of an aspirin tablet and that a year ago he found the offices of two Senators had been "bugged." Gruening said the Internal Revenue Service was disguising its agents as Bell Telephone employees and using fake Bell Telephone trucks. Morce agreed when Proxmire asked whether all this "bugging" was not a clear violation of the Fourth Amendment which guarantees "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures."

Two points call for wider investigation. The first, as Fong pointed out, is the extensive use of electronic devices initiated by Bobby Kennedy as Attorney General in his drive on organized crime, despite the fact that Congress in 1961 and again in 1963 had refused his request for legalized wiretapping. Kennedy operated on the principle that the end justifies the means. Once a suspected racketeer was given an OCD (Organized Crime Division) number, he was accorded what Long called "saturation treatment." Normally, Long said, a crime is investigated to find the criminal. In OCD procedure, Justice decided that a man was a criminal and then gave him "massive investigation, with no holds barred" to find something on which he could be convicted. This crime-buster zeal is closer to comic strip jurisprudence than to normal constitutional standards.

Uncle Sam's School for Burglary

"The record reveals that illegal wiretapping by the Internal Revenue Service is not an occasional action of an over-zealous agent, but is the logical and reasonable consequence of a well-defined program which begins in the special school on wiretapping and bugging, which graduates approximately 30 agents each year, and upon graduation the agent receives a wiretap kit, including burglar tools for illegal breaking and entry."

—Morse (D. Ore.) in the Senate Feb. 2.

Sen. LONG (D. Mo)—Is there a special course in that school on teaching the use of burglar tools?

Mr. Owen B. YUNG, Sr. (Intelligence Div., Internal Revenue Service): There is, or was, up until this year a course in lockpicking.

Sen. LONG: What would you use the art of lockpicking for? Mr. YUNG: For surreptitious entry. . . .

Sen. LONG: Well, that would still be breaking and entering wouldn't it?

Mr. YUNG: Technically, I guess so, sir.

Sen. LONG: Violation of the law?

Mr. YUNG: I wouldn't know sir. I am not a lawyer.

—From the Long committee wiretap hearings.

The biggest gap in the Long investigation, as Senator Cotton pointed out, was that it exempted the so-called "security community" the FBI, the CIA, and the various intelligence divisions of Defense and State. "If we are to face up to this matter of bugging and wiretapping in man fashion," Cotton told the Senate, "it seems to me—even though it might be wise to have certain proceedings in executive session—that no Department in this government and no individual in this government should be exempted."

The worst abuses, those most dangerous to liberty, occur in the so-called "national security" field. This is the excuse for placing a network of informers and "bugs" in all kinds of radical and liberal organizations—the "do-gooder" is ipso facto suspect to the thought police. It is here, more than in tax snooping or crime-busting, that Big Brother lurks, and the shadow of the police state originates.

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NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except in August, the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: \$5 in the U.S.; \$6 in Canada; \$10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: \$15 to Europe; 20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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